Ii Titiev E-9 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

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A Mapuche homestead

[frontispiece]

I: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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come to town to mill their grain or to sell their surplus crops, they are encouraged to drink, with the result that they often squander their profits and return home empty-handed or with painfully small amounts of cash.

HOUSE TYPES

For the most part the Mapuche continue to live in their traditional type of dwellings, which they call *ruka*. House building is always done in fall and winter, with the help of relatives or neighbors. If the necessary materials have been properly prepared in advance, construction can be completed in a day or two.[9] The *ruka* are generally oval or rectangular in ground plan, and average about 15 feet wide, 25 to 30 feet long, and 8 to 10 feet high. Dimensions and shapes may vary considerably from house to house, even on the same reservation. Houses are most frequently oriented in an east-west direction, with a single doorway facing east, but sometimes they are placed in other directions for greater protection from prevailing winds.

The framework of a *ruka* consists of heavy posts, set about two to three feet apart and interlaced with thin poles or canes, over which are placed tightly fitting and overlapping bundles of thatch (Pl. II, Fig. 1). There are no windows, but openings that serve as smoke holes are left at opposite ends of the roof (see Frontispiece). The floor is of firmly packed earth, near the center of which a small excavation ringed with stones is made for use as a fireplace.

Ruka interiors frequently acquire a deep brown glaze, said to result from the action of smoke. Roof beams and posts also serve for holding spare garments and tools; cooking vessels and water jars are generally left on the ground near the fireplace. Beds and bedding are ranged along the side walls.[10] Personally, I saw no *ruka* that comprised more than a single, undivided room, but Domingo Curilef affirmed that in "better"

[9] Many additional data on house construction may be found in Guevara, 1911, p. 143; Moesbach, 1930, pp. 169-83; and Joseph, 1933a, pp. 12-05.

[10] For further details see Hanson, 1939, pp. 158 ff.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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homes a partition was used to separate the "kitchen" from the living quarters.

Despite uniformity of construction and furnishings, there are striking differences in tidiness from house to house. Some women keep their floors more evenly packed and more neatly swept than do others, and occupants vary in the amount of care with which they exclude dogs, chickens, pigs, and other animals. In a few instances large animals such as horses or oxen are sheltered indoors during inclement weather, with consequences that can easily be imagined.

Religious rites no longer accompany the occupancy of a new house, but the owner customarily provides food and drink for an all-night celebration for his helpers and friends. A literal housewarming takes place on these occasions, as extra fires are lighted on the floor.[18] It is thought that heated air rising from within, with the downward pressure of cold air outside, will make the thatch roof fit more tightly. A family may even postpone moving into a new *ruka* until the first rainy day in order to be sure that conditions are right for making it snug and weatherproof.

On none of the reductions that I visited in 1948 did I notice houses with more than one doorway, or with separate compartments for the use of a man's wives or married sons.[19] Structures with zinc, tin, or even tile roofs may be seen from time to time, but these are more likely to be storerooms or barns than habitations, as the Mapuche claim that conventional *rukas* are more comfortable. Nevertheless, one innovation has become widespread. Many dwellings are built with plank walls to a height of three to four feet and are thatched the rest of the way. As a rule, owners still build their own houses with the help of volunteers, but here and there I was shown an exceptional structure that had been built by hired carpenters from a near-by town. Often when a new *ruka* is put up the old one is converted into a barn for the use of livestock.

[18] Cf. Hourse, 1939, pp. 155 ff.

[19] Arrangements of this sort are frequently mentioned. See, for example, Smith, 1855, pp. 295–96; and Hourse, 1939, pp. 157–59.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

PLATE II

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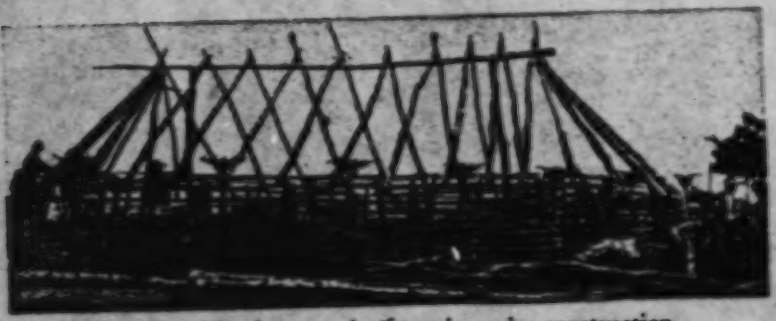

FIG. 1. The framework of a *ruka* under construction.

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FIG. 2. A baby tied in its cradleboard.

[end plate 2]

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

PLATE VII

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FIG. 1. The home of the *machi* at Cautinche. Her nonprofessional status is indicated by the absence of a *rewe*. Only the poles in the middle ground reveal her calling.

FIG. 2. The home of a Carrerille *machi*. The *rewe*, surmounted by twigs of sacred trees, is set at an angle before the *ruka*.

[end plate 7]

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

ETHNOLOGY OF THE ARAUCANOS.

By R. E. Latcham,

Local Correspondent of the Royal Anthropological Institute.

[With Plates XXXIV, XXXV.]

The Araucanos, as the Indians of Southern Chile are generally called, form one of the most indomitable races of which we have any record. During more than three centuries they offered such resistance to the Spanish arms, hitherto invincible in both Americas, that within their territories colonies could only be maintained in the immediate vicinity of walled towns or fortified strongholds. Even the most impregnable of these were time after time razed to the ground, and their inhabitants massacred, by these hardy barbarians.

In a former article[1] I have treated of the principal physical characters of this race, and now propose to give a short sketch of the most striking traits of their daily life.

Many writers have described the manners and customs of the Araucanos, frequently, however, in a superficial way. Among the older Spanish writers, notwithstanding, we have some very important accounts, and of late years two most notable works have appeared treating on this subject, *Aborígenes de Chile*, by José Toribio Medina, and the *Historia de la Civilización de la Araucanía*, by Tomas Guevara.

My remarks are the result of personal observation during a three years' residence in Indian territory among the tribes of the Cautin valley, and also in the neighbourhood of Angol and Traiguen in the Malleco province. Where the customs seem to have been modified, I have consulted the most reliable of the old authors of the time of the Conquest.

Although the Araucano is extremely conservative and indisposed to change his manner of life, two principal factors have tended to modify considerably his social condition. The first was foreign invasion, and the second, really a corollary of the first, was the introduction of spirituous liquors.

There have been two foreign invasions which have left their indelible mark on the development of the race; the first by the Incas, and the second by the Spaniards.

The former first brought the Araucano into touch with civilisation. From this epoch date his knowledge of domestic animals, of the elements of agriculture, and of such arts as weaving and metal working. This period also saw him first begin to adopt a more sedentary life, constructing rude huts instead of the usual *toldo* or skin tent.

[1] *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.*, xxxiv (1904), pp. 170-182.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

of them show considerable ingenuity in their fabrication. After the Spanish occupation and the settling of missionaries among them, the cross, especially the Maltese, became a favourite design in their silverwork. The chiefs used spurs, bits and stirrups of silver, and frequently adorned their saddles, bridles and whip handles with the same metal.

Owing to the Spaniard's greed for gold, and the dangers to which its display exposed them, this metal became less and less used, but their love for silver ornaments continues up to the present day.

The principal adornments of the women consisted of enormous earrings in the form of a half disc, frequently measuring 6 inches in diameter, bracelets, necklets, collars, head bands, waist bands, and long pins with large heads in the form of discs, half-moons, or ball-shaped. These were used to fasten their mantles. A favourite ornament is a strip of soft hide covered with rows of small silver beads. This is worn either as a head or waist band, and very frequently as a collar. Rings, usually plain silver bands, are frequently worn. Another favourite ornament is the *ali*, or chain pendant, worn suspended by a clasp from the breast, and having small trinkets hung at the extremity.

The Araucano neither daubs his face with paint nor uses tattooing as a means of beautifying his personal appearance, although formerly their war parties painted their faces to strike terror into the hearts of their enemies. The elaborate designs and totem marks used by some of the northern races seems to have had no counterpart among them, and they seem to have had no special identification mark to distinguish them if slain in battle, this task falling to the lot of the women who usually followed the war party not far in the rear.

Habitations.—As I have already mentioned, the primitive dwelling of the Araucano was the *toldo* or skin tent, such as is even now used by the Indian tribes of the Southern Pampas. When they began to lead a more sedentary life, they constructed rude wattle and daub huts, the cross-pieces of which were lashed together with fibrous creepers. These were probably at first circular in form, but finding them too small they afterwards gave them an oval shape, and finally began to build them in their present rectangular design.

The work of building these huts is a great event in the life of the Indians. The construction is not all conducted as one operation, but is generally divided into three stages, each of which gives occasion for a great feast, especially the final one. On this occasion, if the owner is a chief, or is well off, the feast lasts for several days. The first stage is the erecting of the posts and framework; the second the filling-in of the walls; and lastly the thatching of the roof with long coarse rushes.

The huts vary in size according to the necessities of the family, being from 20 to 60 feet in length and from 15 to 30 in width; the walls are about 6 feet in height. They are occupied by the owner, his wives, unmarried children, and sometimes by other children. The children and unmarried men and girls sleep pell-mell, spreading skins on the beaten earth floor where fancy dictates.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

The huts of the chiefs and principal men are divided by bamboo screens, each wife having her separate sleeping and cooking place; but among the unmarried the same confusion prevails.

The Indian villages are never large, seldom containing more than a dozen huts, generally fewer. This dislike to congregating in numbers is probably a relic of their old hunting instinct, and dates from the time when their mode of life necessitated an extensive tract of country for the requirements of each family or clan.

The household effects are of the scantiest and rudest description. They use no tables, and their seats are either rough benches or blocks of wood; although the Indian for the most part squats cross-legged on the ground. They make a rude kind of bedstead of four forked sticks, planted in the ground. Two parallel bars are placed in the forks, and a horse or bullock hide is stretched tightly across them and fastened by strips of hide. Their beds consist of piles of sheep skins with the wool still on, or bundles of rushes covered with coarse native-made blankets. Another bundle of rushes or roll of skins forms a pillow, although this latter is frequently wanting.

The native cradle is rather ingenious. It is a kind of basket hung from the roof by cords, generally over the bed of the mother, who can thus swing it without rising.

The cooking utensils consist of coarse earthenware pots of different sizes; and the meals are eaten from roughly hollowed wooden platters with rude spoons of the same material. Their clothes, when not in use, are kept in large hide sacks, suspended from wooden hooks fastened in the uprights of the house. Each wife has her separate fire, cooks the food and attends to the wants of her own progeny.

Although the Araucanos are cleanly in their persons they are not so in their households; and, as in most inferior communities, they form a happy family, the pigs, poultry, dogs, cats, etc., all sleeping under the same roof.

Weaving.—The first material used by the Araucanos in their weaving was the fibre of certain plants and the inner bark of determined trees, especially the *cpudue* (*Fremontia hondbeeki*), which to-day are only utilised for making ropes, baskets, cords, and fishing lines. Now they use the wool obtained from their numerous flocks.

To twist the wool they use a very simple spindle, shaped like a shuttle and about 10 inches long. At the lower end is fixed a perforated stone disc. The wool is taken in the left hand and wound around the left arm, the right hand being used to twist the spindle and draw out the wool. Their looms are also very primitive and easily constructed, and being adjustable can be used for any sized cloth required. The vertical frame is about 5 feet high, with a series of holes ¼ inch in diameter and about 6 inches apart, to allow the regulation of the crossbar which indicates the width of the piece to be woven. The cross-beams top and bottom are fixed to the uprights by wooden pegs, and the top one can be

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

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Dwellings.—Very often huts (ruka, tabú) (pl. 153, *bottom*) were located on eminences; thus friendly or unfriendly visitors could be spied some distance off, and an eye could be kept on the livestock. More commonly, dwellings were substantially built of timber or cane framework, oval, polygonal, or rectangular in ground plan, and with thatch roof reaching nearly or quite to the ground level (fig. 72). Dimensions varied, from 16 to 20 feet (5 to 6 m.) long by 10 to 13 feet (3 to 4 m.) wide, to 66 feet (20 m.) long by 33 feet (10 m.) wide, occasionally even larger. A cacique's dwelling observed by Smith (1855, p. 295) was estimated by him as circa 140 feet (43 m.) long by 30 feet (9 m.) wide, with the ridge pole about 15 feet (4.5 m.) above ground. Mariño de Lovera's figures (1865, p. 124), 400 to 800 feet (122 to 244 m.) square, for dwellings in Cauten, appear too high, even though he explicitly states that he measured them several times.

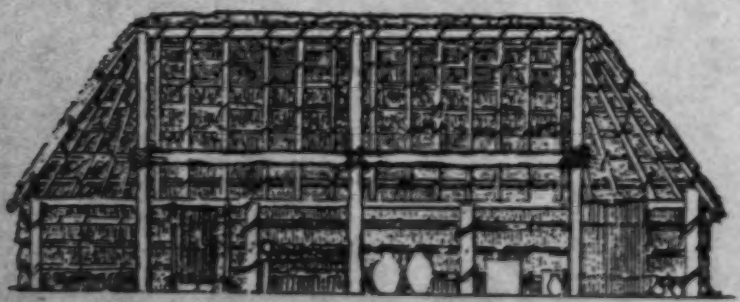

FIGURE 72.—Schematic cross section of the interior of a *Mapuche* dwelling, or ruka. (After Claude Joseph, 1931, fig. 9.)

Around Imperial, Pedro de Valdivia (1861, p. 55; *in* Gay, 1846–52, 1:142) in 1551 found well-built dwellings of large planks, many of these plank houses being very big, with from 2 to 4 and 8 entrances. Plank houses, with grass roofs, were also in use in the late 18th century among the *Huilliche* of the Chilotan archipelago (González de Agüeros, 1791, pp. 111–12). Very large shelters, with from 4 to 6 entrances, were also reported in 1558 in the Coronados Gulf region, by Goicueta (1852, p. 93). In a single house there sometimes lived, according to Sors (1921, 38:46), as many as 80 or 90 persons, though 30 to 40 was the more common number.

Most huts, however, at least in *Mapuche* territory, had only one or two entrances. Doors and windows were lacking. An opening or openings in the center of the roof served as smoke hole.

A small conical thatched hut was also used. In addition, warriors on the march would put up a temporary shelter against rain and hot sun by arching four sticks and covering these with four large leaves of puke (*Gunnera scabra*).

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

342 The interior of the larger huts was commonly divided into compartments or alcoves opening off the central section and serving as sleeping quarters for the different families or wives. There was ordinarily a separate fireplace for each married couple or wife. Storage space was provided by lofts and cane-partitioned bins.

342 476 Huts were erected in two or three separate stages by the voluntary joint labor of the men of the settlement or community, on the mingaco plan, with an eating and drinking feast after the completion of each stage. (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:149; Latcham, 1909, p. 337; Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 143–46; Manquilef, 1911, pp. 22–39; Moesbach, 1936, pp. 173, 176–78.)

352 **House furnishings.**—In earlier times there were no beds, tables, or chairs. The natives slept on skins or on heaps of grass or rushes, placed on the ground, using skins or ponchos as cover and a section of tree trunk, or a bundle of rushes or skins, or a stone, as headrest. The low platform bed was of later introduction. They ate seated on the ground or on tree-trunk sections. Hide and basketry containers served for storing food and other possessions; clay jars for holding chicha. (For details on house furnishings, see especially Claude Joseph, 1931, pp. 39–48, 229–51.)

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

291 [177] **Garments.**—In recent times, apart from the generally adopted European clothing, the more characteristic garments of the *Mapuche-Huilliche* men were the chamall, the chiripa, and the makuñ (poncho); of the women, the kepam and the ekull (ükella). Chamall, makuñ, and kepam are apparently words of *Araucanian* origin; chiripa and ekull, of *Quechua*.

The man's chamall was a rectangular piece of woolen cloth covering the body from the chest or waist down, and secured at the waist with a belt; his chiripa, a cloth of chamall type, worn drawn up between the legs from behind and secured at the waist, thus forming a sort of loose, wide breechclout-trunks; his makuñ, a poncho proper, a rectangular oblong woolen cloth, plain or striped or sometimes figured, with vertical slit in the middle for the head, and with the sides not sewn together.

The woman's kepam was a rectangular woven cloth, of chamall shape, pinned over one shoulder and leaving the other bare, reaching from above the breasts and under the armpits to the calves or feet, and secured at the waist with a belt; her ekull, a shawl or capelike garment, worn over the shoulders and pinned at the breast, commonly with a silver tupu.

Our early sources on the *Mapuche-Huilliche* are, as a rule, none too specific or detailed in describing native clothing, and in some cases use the same *Araucanian* or Spanish word to denote different garments.

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PLATE 118.—Araucanian graves, trees, and dwelling. *Top (left)*: Grave posts. *Top (right)*: Bows, or mantel's ladder. *Bottom*: Mapuche dwelling, or ruka. (Courtesy University Museum, Philadelphia.)

[p. 734 A]

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Picanche
Argentinian Araucanians

Bío-Bío River, very little is known. Cultural modifications had already come about in pre-Hispanic times as a result both of *Inca* occupation of the northern section of the region and of other, non-*Inca* influences. Soon after the Spanish Conquest, from 1536 and 1540 on, the whole region suffered radical cultural transformation. The early chroniclers have left us only the most fragmentary data on pre-Hispanic aboriginal *Picunche* culture. Presumably, it was of the same general pattern as the *Mapuche-Huilliche* culture, but in the absence of specific records we cannot be certain. The meager information at our command gives evidence of considerable identity, but also of some divergence.

Irrigation was practiced as far south as the Rapel, but there were no terraces south of the Choapa (Latcham, 1928 a, pp. 135, 139). Huts were commonly of wattle-and-daub construction, rectangular, with thatched roofs (Molina, 1901, p. 122; Latcham, 1928 a, p. 138).

The weapons reported as having been used in the "valley of Mapocho" (Mapocho, near modern Santiago) in 1541 by the natives under Michimalongo were: Atlatls, bludgeons with metal points, short lances, pikes, heavy macanas, very big bows with long thin arrows (Mariño de Lovera, 1865, pp. 46–47); in some of these weapons *Inca* influence may be suspected, as the *Inca* domination extended at the time well beyond the Mapocho.

Clothing was very much like that of the *Mapuche-Huilliche*.

Mound burials are found archeologically in the region, with the body resting supine or on the side, sometimes face downward; some of the burials contain undecorated pottery; others, a black or dark pottery, sometimes polished and often adorned with figures of men and animals modeled in relief (Latcham, 1928 a, pp. 133, 135, 139).

On *Picunche* social and religious culture, we have no definite detailed information. (For fuller data on *Picunche* culture, cf. Latcham, 1928 a, ch. 7.)

CULTURE OF THE ARGENTINE ARAUCANIANS

In view of their geographical location and of certain cultural affinities, the 16th-, 17th-, and early 18th-century "*Puelche*" of Mariño de Lovera, Rosales, and Pietas, living south of about lat. 37° or 38° S., are dealt with in the following section on the "*Puelche*"; the later 18th- and early 19th-century "*Puelche*" of Molina, Amat y Junient, Carvallo i Goyeneche, De la Cruz, and Poeppig, living in the Andean uplands and eastern slopes between about lat. 34° or 34° 30′ and 37° or 38° S., in the present section, although some of these latter "*Puelche*" were located at the time in Chilean territory.

Our most important sources on the culture of the Argentine *Araucanians*, including these latter "*Puelche*," with dates of observation where such are determinable, are: Molina (1873 a, 1873 b, 1901)

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Pehuenche

repeated almost word for word by Rosales (1877–78, 1:223, 468)—and which they stored in a manner to last 4 or 5 years. Whether they practiced any agriculture in Mariño de Lovera's time is uncertain from his account, while Rosales' two statements are not easily harmonized: "no cuidan de sembrar" (1:68), and "cogen sus trigos y cebadas [European? or the native *Araucanian* "cebada"?] con abundancia los Pegüenches, aunque son poco labradores y con muy poco que siembran se contentan" (1:192). Pietas (1846, pp. 499, 500) seems to imply that horticulture was absent. For the rest, climatic conditions in the upper Andes were not favorable to gardening.

The weapons used were the bow and arrow, and the bolas (Pietas, 1846, p. 499).

Dwellings were of hides of horses and cattle.

Rosales (1877–78, 1:198) alone records the use of a type of snowshoes made of "cañas" (*Chusquea* sp. probably) to prevent sinking in the deep snow, but gives no details on construction—the only occurrence of snowshoes reported for South America, to the writer's knowledge, except the *Ona* one.

Each *Pehuenche*, according to Rosales (1877–78, 1:197; see also Pietas, 1846, p. 500), had exclusive and hereditary rights to gather piñons in a given district—held, added Pietas, just as the Spaniards hold their own vineyards.

In the middle of the 18th century, the culture of the "*Pehuenche*" between lat. 34° and 37° S. was fundamentally like *Mapuche-Huilliche*, as is clear from Molina; still earlier in the same century, Pietas stated (1846, p. 499) that the "*Pehuenche*" farther south had "los mismos ritos y costumbres" as the *Huilliche;* for all we know, even in the 16th and 17th centuries, the culture of the *Pegüenche* of Rosales and of the piñon-eating mountaineers of Mariño de Lovera, apart from the few reported minor differences we have listed and, presumably, other unreported ones, may have been fundamentally in conformity with the culture of the *Mapuche-Huilliche*. At any rate, we have no tangible evidence of fundamental difference of pattern.

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For bibliographic references on the *Mapuche-Huilliche*, see page 699; on the *Picunche*, page 755; on the *Araucanian Arauquinians*, pages 755–756; and on the *Puelche*, page 758.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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On school days, in homes where there are children of school age, the above routine cannot be followed, for "children must be at school early." A partial meal, then, is usually eaten in the early morning and a full meal after the children return from school. Schools furnish a midday snack of toasted wheat in sugar-sweetened water.

Meals are eaten around the fireplace seated either on the ground on folded sheep pelts, or on low benches, stools, or tree-trunk sections. "Formerly we had no benches; we sat on pelts and rugs on the ground." The food is served in bowls or on plates. No tables are used. The woman serves her husband and visiting adults first, then the children, and then herself; but all eat together. According to Cooper's sources, men used to eat together, and women apart from them (1946, p. 706), a custom not known to my informants.

THE RUKA: CONSTRUCTION, LIGHTING, FURNISHINGS, STORAGE

The ruka is the home of the Araucanian. Formerly, according to Cooper's sources, ruka were commonly oval, polygonal, or rectangular in ground plan, and generally the framework was of timber or cane and the roof of thatch reaching nearly or quite to the ground level. However, as early as 1551 there were well-built ruka of large planks around Imperial (the Boroa area), many of them large ones with four to eight entrances (1946, pp. 707-708).

Today nearly all ruka are rectangular. The framework is of planks, and roofs are gabled or lean-to in shape (pls. 52, 53). Walls and roof combinations fall predominantly into three types: walls and roof both of thatch—this is the oldest combination; walls of planks and roof of thatch; and walls of planks and roof of logs. One shingled and several tin roofs were seen, but these were exceptional.

In Alepúe area men began building plank houses after they had helped to build the Sisters' home and school, where they assisted non-Araucanians in hewing lumber from logs. In Coñaripe area building with planks was the result of contact and observation at a recently established Chilean-owned lumber camp in an Andean valley nearby. Men not directly engaged at the lumber mill felled and hauled logs to the mill. A non-Araucanian herbalist of the area commented on the rapidity with which the traditional thatched ruka was replaced by the one-room plank ruka, usually two such ruka to a family, after the men began to work at or for the lumber mill. One of the two ruka was used for sleeping and the other for cooking and indoor work in the winter. In the summer most families cook and work outdoors, either under sun shelters, behind windbreaks, or in the shade of trees

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Chile

or ruka. "There are, however," the informant added, "still many that cook, work, and sleep in a one-room ruka; much depends on the size of the family." 342

Cooper's sources recorded that as many as 80 to 90 persons lived in a single ruka; 30 to 40 was a more common number. Dimensions of ruka varied from 16 to 20 feet in length by 10 to 13 feet in width, to 66 feet in length by 33 feet in width; an occasional one was longer. A cacique's ruka was estimated by one source to have been approximately 140 feet long and 30 feet wide, with a ridge pole 15 feet aboveground. In Cautín, ruka were 400 to 800 feet square. Most ruka, however, had only one or two entrances, with no doors or windows. An opening (or openings) in the center of the roof served as a smoke hole (something my informants doubted). Small conical thatched ruka were also used, according to Cooper's sources. Warriors made temporary shelters against rain and hot sun by arching four sticks and laying over these four large leaves of nalca. The interior of the larger ruka was usually divided into compartments or alcoves opening off the central section, and served as sleeping quarters for the different families or for the wives of one man. Ordinarily there was a separate fireplace provided for each married couple or wife. Storage space was in lofts or in case-partitioned bins (1946, pp. 707-708).

Today the size of a ruka depends on the wishes and needs of the owner. A winu (the distance from chest to fingers of an outstretched arm) is the unit of measurement. "When I used to help to build ruka," said a 100-year-old Colhuripe man, "we measured off so many winu on yarn for the length, so many for the width, and so many for the height, and then set out to build the ruka accordingly. An Alepún man in his forties said: "Today a measuring pole of one vara [2.8 feet] is used. Standard length of rafters is 4½ vara; the height of walls, always greater than 3½ vara; the width and length of the ground plan depends on the size of the ruka that the man wants to build." 342 804

Regarding the ruka of a man with several wives, a 33-year-old Colhuripe man told that his grandfather had one large ruka for his two wives; that men with more than one wife today have a ruka for each wife. "A young man near here who has two wives has a ruka for each; the two ruka are about a 5-minutes' walk apart. An old man here has one of his two wives living across the river and the other in Liñeco." 342 915

Ruka have no windows; usually each has two entrances, located in walls away from prevailing winds—in opposite walls, sometimes in adjoining ones. Doors are upright planks that are generally tied 342

10: Hilger E[illegible] (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

342 together with voqui, or, in some instances, are nailed to horizontal boards. Hinges are of rawhide. Rarely are there latches or knobs. A door is kept closed by being bolted. Children, during their first days at school, are baffled by knobs on doors.

Ruka have no chimneys. "Who would want to sit in a ruka with an opening at the top to let the rain in?" asked a Cofiaripe man, and then went on to say: "The ruka is built to have smoke exits (uliollin) at one or both gable ends of the roof, or to have escapes in one or two walls. If the ruka is situated in the path of a prevailing wind, such as we have in some of the valleys in the Cordillera, there is only one opening for the smoke; if located where winds shift frequently, there are two. Uliollin are usually built to protrude beyond the walls or to be slightly higher than the roof. If built in this manner, there is always a good draft." (See pls. 52, *1*, and 53.)

An Alapide man, when asked why the ruka had no chimney, replied: "For the very simple reason that in this area it rains on the average two days out of every three; no holes can be tolerated in the roof. We take care of ventilation and smoke by arranging for one smoke hole at a gable end of the roof, that is an uliollin, and for another by leaving an open space at the eaves of one of the walls and a thinness in the same wall just below the open space. The smoke will then find its way out either through the smoke hole or the wall, depending upon the draft, the draft depending largely on the direction of the wind. When building the ruka, notice must be taken of prevailing winds, for the thinness in the wall must be on the side opposite prevailing winds, and the eave on this side must project sufficiently to keep swishing rains from coming in through the thin part of the wall." During an interview, one day, his wife closed the ruka door in order to change the direction of the smoke. She waited a moment, and when she saw the smoke going out through the thin wall she remarked: "There now, that will make it more comfortable to visit."

342 The framework of the traditional thatch ruka requires saplings
824 with a crotch at an equal height on each. Saplings of hardwood are best, such as petra, roble chileno, canelo, olivillo, laurel canelo, and ulmo. Temo must not be used, "for worms live in it." The rafters are of ulmo, and so are the beams. "Ulmo, you know, grows very straight." The entire framework is kept taut and in position by cribbin poles tied to it at intervals in a horizontal position.

342 A man wishing to erect a thatch ruka usually collects the building materials before the men he has invited to assist him arrive. These are men he helped in the erection of their rukas, usually neighbors and relatives. If these men are close friends of his, their families are

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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invited also. Several of the men set out immediately to collect thatch; ratonera (pl. 54, *1*) is preferred for this, but is now nearly extinct; informants thought that intensive grazing in recent years had destroyed most of it. Substitutes for ratonera are chupón, bulrushes, reeds, and sedge, wherever found. While some men are collecting the thatch, others strip twigs off the coihüe poles; some begin to erect the framework, others tie the coihüe poles to the framework, and still others tie together the rafters and tie beams. All tying is done with stout voqui (pl. 54, *2*). Nearly all the men lend a hand when rafters are raised and the ridgepole is attached. Walls and roof are then built up with layers of thatch. Thatch is fastened with roots earthward; each layer slightly overlaps the one below it, and is secured in position by means of voqui applied with a twining technique. Once the thatch is in place, coihüe poles are fastened horizontally across the upper ends of each row of thatch, and are tied to the framework at intervals beneath the thatch. Building a ruka usually takes a day.

Women, as a rule, do not assist in the erecting of a ruka, but by the time it has been built, they are ready to serve an abundant meal. "After everyone has eaten, the men, and everyone else also, sings this song [informant sang it in Araucanian]: 'If I met a beautiful sun, If I had a nice mare, I would enter into this house to greet the wife of the rich man.'" Much wine, if available, and chicha are drunk at the end of the meal; if there is a sufficient amount, many drink to intoxication.

A 33-year old Coliarije man explained the building of the split-log roof found on some plank houses in his area. "The Mapuche copied these from the Chilenos," he stated. "Peeled logs are split lengthwise and a good portion of the core removed. A row of these split, half-hewed-out logs is laid across the roof leaving space between them to allow ventilation and smoke exits. Then a second row of the split hollowed-out logs is placed over the first, but in inverted position so that the sides of each log rest in the hollow of two other logs beneath it. In this position the logs are a watershed, give ventilation, and allow the smoke to find a way out."

A ruka is the property of the family; but it is spoken of as belonging to the father. Upon the father's death, the mother inherits it, and upon her death, it belongs to those who happen to live there at the time of her death.

The interior walls and ceiling of the ruka are unfinished. Ceilings are generally coated with hardened, glistening soot from smoke. The open fireplace not only serves for cooking purposes, but gives light and

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Figure 1. A tribe (cluster). a. The Calfucurá cacique's homestead. b. One of the buildings shown in figure 2, used for dancing and for storage.

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A ruka in Alepin area: 1, Front view showing entrance. (Note yoke for roots leaning against the wall.) 2, Smoke hole at gable end of front wall. 3, Smoke hole at gable end of rear wall. (Note layers of grass used in thatching walls, in all three pictures.)

[Illegible] p. 220(B)7

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A dwelling, children, and view of Temuco area. 1, A 2-room dwelling of adobe-reinforced walls and thatched roof. Smoke is emitted at gable end; light is admitted through opening in roof and covered with boards. 2, A boarding dwelling for an ox. (Notice the saddles and the bare saddle cloth.) 3, Children. 4, Dwelling with adobe and wattling in the foreground. Thatched roofs in the background. 5, Temuco. Plaza and some of the houses.

[illegible]

10: Bilgoir K-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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18: Hilger E-3 (1946-1952) 1957
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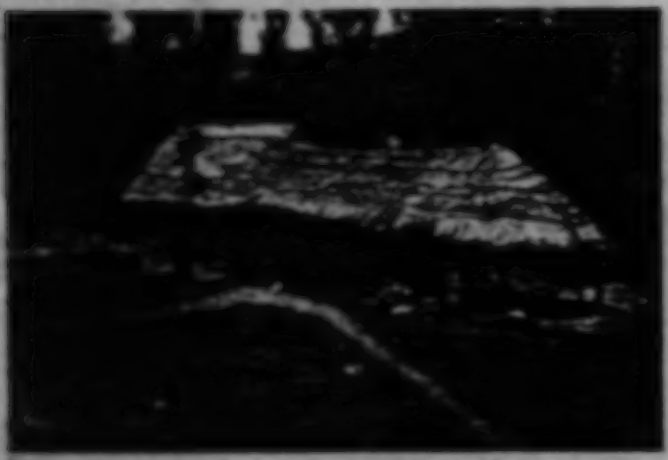

[illegible]: A woman dwelling made of a straw foundation, adobe brick walls, and thatched roof, with an shelter. A. The smaller and low dome-shaped entrance of the dwelling shown in figure 1. Right, Margaret Mead; left, field assistant.

[p 268(F)]

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Right: 1 and 2, A Araucanian dwelling, and 3, its occupants, a mother and her five children

[p.268(6)]

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Mallco: 1. The cacique of Mallco, his wife and four of his children, and Father Ludovico Pernisek, the late Salesian missionary to the Araucanians. 2. The home of the cacique. 3. A view from the cacique's home showing some of the cultivated and pasturelands leased by him from the Argentine Government for the people under his jurisdiction.

[p.268(H)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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272 [574] children at mealtimes and as a between-meal drink. It is also served to visitors for hospitality's sake. In Argentina it is usually drunk without sugar.

THE TOLDO, PRESENT-DAY DWELLINGS, STORAGE

348 The toldo, the early conventional dwelling of the Argentine Araucanians, was a collapsible, transportable tent of hides—informants called it ruka, the Araucanian name for dwelling. An occasional family lived under a rock shelter that had several walls of piled-up stone, or in a cave where piled-up stones formed a wall at the opening. During the season of favorable weather, families often lived under large shade trees with no shelter except the dense foliage. Ruka, such as the Chilean Araucanians built, namely, gable-roofed frameworks of poles thatched with grass, did not exist in Argentina. "I know that ruka, like our people in Chile still build, were the first kind of dwellings our people had—that is, our ancestors in Chile had them; but I have never seen one on this side of the Cordillera," said Kolupan; "here we have always lived in trokle ruka [house of poles], called toldos." He went on to tell that the building of a toldo was a community affair. Men prepared the poles and helped the women in the preparation of the hides. "Twenty to thirty persons got together to build the trokle ruka," said Kolupan; "we did as they do in Chile when they build a ruka. Sometimes several were built at one time." At the completion of the work, an animal was slaughtered and a copious meal with mudai was served, a celebration known as the kawiltun. When toldos had to be moved—as on occasions such as transferring herds to new grazing grounds—the women collapsed the toldos, rolled the hides on the toldo poles, and transported them on pack horses.

Toldos were of two kinds: an inverted-V type and a 4-walled one not unlike a lean-to, but having one gabled wall. Both consisted of a framework of poles with a covering of hides. The inverted-V type was erected when a dwelling was needed for only a short time, as when hunting or during the days "when we were being chased by the military from place to place." Its poles were tied together at the ridge or bolstered against each other. Several V-type ones I saw were covered with tin in place of hides. They were being erected in mountain valleys, also, where cattle were being taken for summer grazing.

Kolupan described the erection of a gabled-end toldo. Nine poles were needed: six of equal length, two noticeably longer than these, and one longer than the last two. Nine holes were next made in the

[i.e. yerba mate. -Analyst]

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ground, so located that the rear of the tolde was toward the prevailing winds. The distance between the poles depended on the size of the tolde to be erected and the size depended on the number of families that were to live in it. An ordinary one was from 25 to 30 feet from front to back. The six poles of equal length, in two sets of three, were set firmly into holes opposite to each other to form the two side walls. The three remaining poles were used to form the gable end—the end used as the entrance. The tallest pole was placed midway between the two side walls and in line with them. The two remaining poles were set one each to the sides of the tallest pole. The hide covering was then drawn over the poles from the rear to the gable end and tied to the poles with horsehide thongs. The meeting of the hide at the tallest pole provided the entrance. The covering had to be large enough so that its edge rested on the ground beyond the poles. Heavy stones were then laid along the edge to keep the wind from blowing in. Smoke found its way out through openings in the roof where hides overlapped. 342

Women sometimes decorated the inside of the tolde with paint made of white earth (malle) or red earth (kolli larro) mixed with grease of rhea. It was applied with a wad of wool. "I like to think of those days," Kalupan reminisced, "when we used to visit back and forth sitting in those attractively decorated toldes. We did not have to work at hard labor as we do today. All that men had to do was to tend their animals. I sometimes sit all day and think about those days." 353 44

Hides used as tolde coverings were those of guanaco, horse, and cattle. Women directed the tanning of the hides and did much of the work themselves. All meat on the flesh side and also the thin skin under it were removed with a scraper made of hard stone sharpened along one edge. The stone was tied between two pieces of wood which formed the handle. The scraper was held with the palm of the hand downward, and moved toward the performer. A scraped hide was rubbed with a mixture of grease and salt and allowed to lie for several days. It was then washed and rubbed with a rubbing stone (kuna quilki) (pl. 74 *f*), back and forth and with a circular motion, to the degree of softness desired. Men, women, and children assisted in the rubbing. Liver of the animal to which the hide had belonged was now smeared over the inner surface of the hide and dried in the sun. "One can tell when it is dry when it feels like wax to the touch. If the sun is hot, it may take only one day for drying." To remove the dried liver the hide is again rubbed with a rubbing stone, but with a finer surfaced one. Rubbing stones were 3 to 6 inches in height and 3 to 4 inches in diameter at the base. All specimens seen were of volcanic rock, coarse and light. Bricks were not used in softening hides. 342 281

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volcanic rock, porous and light. Brain was not used in softening hides.

Hides were sewed together with strands of horse sinew or very narrow strips of the thin skin found on the flesh side of horsehide. "I have seen my mother take the sinew that lies along the full length of the spine of the horse including the tail, pound it to softness, and then pull the fibers apart. She used these as thread." A young man, upon the advice of his mother, had recently used strips of the inner lining of horsehide to sew together parts of a bridle; his mother had used similar strips to sew together hides for table coverings some years ago.

Dwellings today are 1- or 2-room gable-roofed houses (pls. 63-67). An occasional one has an added lean-to which consists of one wall on the side of prevailing winds, and a roof. Occasionally, too, a sun shelter is seen, made of poles overlaid with a roof (pl. 65, *1*). It is not unusual for a family to have a shed for sleeping or storage purposes.

The framework of the gable-roofed dwelling is of poles or tree trunks. The roof may be thatched with grass or straw, or made of overlapping logs, overlaid lumber, shingles, or tin. Grasses used are totora, calvin (unidentified), and junco; straw is that of wheat. If logs are used, they are sawed in half lengthwise, hollowed out, and laid side by side across the roof with the hollowed-out side up. A second layer of smaller logs, but in inverted position, is placed over these so that the sides of each will rest in the hollows of the first layer. The second layer forms the watershed; the first provides drainage. Boards used as roofing are nailed lengthwise across the roof, each one overlapping the upper part of the one below it. Shingles and tin are arranged in the same manner. The floor of the dwelling is usually the ground; in rare cases, planks.

The exterior walls are often slats of wood with bark, such as can be obtained at sawmills; sometimes they are boards. They are nailed to the framework in either horizontal or vertical position. Spaces between slats are filled in with adobe or covered with discarded pieces of tin of various sizes and shapes. If boards and slats cannot be obtained, the leafy ends of cattails stalks are used instead. Adobe is plastered between and over them. Usually only the room in which the fireplace is located has windows. The door is generally at the gable end of the house. The interior walls are unfinished; the roof forms the ceiling.

House furnishings, in general, are a table with one or two suitable benches; low benches around an open fireplace or stove; and shelves attached to walls as separate boards or in a box, used for storing dishes, food, and other things. Sleeping is done on sheep pelts laid on

Il:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

the family heads and adult sons are involved, the host provides everything in the way of food and drink. *Mingacos* of considerable size therefore can be held without the chief having to provide more food than he is able – perhaps a concession to general poverty.

Some kinds of communal work are much easier than others. House-building, for example, is largely a ceremonial affair, the *mingaco* serving to symbolize community solidarity and magically insure the durability of the house rather than because of the labor needed. In most cases, the host and his family have done most of the laborious work – such as pulling the *ratonera* grass used for thatch, cutting and shaping posts and poles and setting up the heaviest of these, and gathering all the necessary materials. Furthermore, *mingaco* may be held merely to put a new thatch roof on an old house, work which could be done rather easily by the family group. Many of the people invited to the housebuilding (*rukan*) take no part in the work but merely join in the festivity.

When all the materials have been readied – which includes the preparation of food and drink – the host selects from among his friends (relatives) two captains, each of whom is in charge of a work gang responsible for building one side of the house. The captains choose their crews. Although they have the right to reject anyone whom they do not think will do a good job or whom they do not like personally, this is all done with the full knowledge of the host. Ultimately, it is the host who must approve all the participants.

The work crews bring their families, the women of which might assist the host's wife and daughters in preparing the festive meal, and might also make small contributions of food and drink. After the work is finished, the house is "warmed" by several fires. Eating and drinking continue until the supply is exhausted and might last well into the night. The last few hours of these affairs are characterized by heavy drinking which sometimes results in fights breaking out, between men and women alike, and in charges of sorcery being leveled.

Mingaco is also used for clearing land. The host usually makes his own selection of workers by visiting them and informing them of his plans. In many cases the owner has already killed the trees himself. All that remains is for them to be cut down and for the stumps to be dug out of the ground and hauled away. The work is very laborious and usually involves many teams of oxen.

Generally a midday meal is served and water and parched wheat

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Mapuche

lineage segments when associated with agricultural labor, but include larger groups when land clearing or draining, housebuilding, road repair, and so forth are involved. Although the chief's role in organizing *mingaco* may be minimal, it is highly symbolic of the fact that *mingaco* expresses the feeling of solidarity among coresidents.

The people look to the chief for support or sponsorship, rather than actual organization. The chief is approached by several of the household heads and the matter of clearing brush from the road or widening the road or filling in ruts is discussed. The chief is pressed to lend his support, to organize the venture, and to make some contribution such as a cow or several sheep to be eaten after the work is done. If the chief is wealthy and especially conscious of increasing or maintaining his political authority he will sometimes suggest that the workers repair to his house for a feast when the task is completed. In any case the chief's willingness to sponsor communal work, even though this may not involve a contribution of food on his part, enhances his prestige and serves to reinforce the bonds of relationship which exist among the members of the community.

Much more common than reservation-wide communal work is that engaged in by several families, patrilineally related, whose male heads are members of a sublineage. The kind of labor performed by these multifamily work parties differs somewhat from that done by large *mingaco* groups, and the scale of the operation is generally smaller. Agricultural labors are usually limited to planting and harvesting, the threshing being done by rented machinery.

If several families combine their efforts in nonagricultural activity, such as housebuilding or clearing fields of trees, the work is generally protracted over several days or even longer, which suggests an organization different from *mingaco*. However, when the protracted task is completed, it might also be celebrated by a festive meal and drinking bout. For example, several families occupying adjacent parcels of land might cooperate to construct a log fence. Their relatively small labor force might not be able to kill, cut, and haul the trees into place in less than several months, working a day or so at a time during slack periods. The final assemblage of logs and the completion of the fence, then, might be celebrated in the manner indicated. As mentioned above, much of the preparatory work of house construction is generally done before the large *rukan* or housebuilding *mingaco* is held to celebrate its erection. Preparations of the thatch, cutting and shaping the poles, making the rope lashings with which the joints

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Mapuche

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might be secured, hewing the planks for doors or sidings, and other tasks might be performed by means of a small-scale, nonreciprocal labor arrangement over a long period of time. With the *rukan* the house is raised and the work is terminated in a festive atmosphere.

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Family fields are given primary and sometimes secondary plowings by the head of the family and his adult sons. If a *mingaco* is held at planting time, therefore, only a final plowing is performed by the work group at the time the seeds are sown. Today, field crops are more important than *chacarería* and field labor is principally man's work involving draft plowing. Commensurate with the small fields characteristic of Mapuche homesteads is the small labor force needed to work them. Small *mingacos* are held primarily to get the work accomplished in a single day, whether there is an urgent need for this or not. While it might be less costly for a family to work its own fields, there is a strong tendency, related to an over-all atmosphere of euphoria and expectancy at planting and harvest time, to celebrate agricultural "crises" in the *mingaco* pattern.

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The organization of this sort of work correlates with structural alignments in the community. Cooperation tends to involve the closest kin, the males of a sublineage and their families. These families generally live in neighboring houses which have greater spatial cohesiveness and a tighter functional relationship among themselves than with other groups on the reservation.

Vuelta Mano

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Much of the day-to-day work, as well as some of the crucial agricultural operations which can be easily completed by a few individuals, are organized on a strictly reciprocal basis called *vuelta mano*. Under this arrangement one man helps another with the understanding that his labor will be paid back in the future. The reciprocity is on a man-for-man, day-for-day basis in theory, although in practice the exchange of labor is seldom exactly equal. The Mapuche appear to be satisfied with a roughly approximate expenditure of effort, and there is no haggling over the kinds of labor or the exact requirements of the agreement.

Vuelta mano often results in partnerships which are sustained for several years or longer, but there are no formal work parties which exchange labor as seems to be the case in the Peruvian Andes. The participants are few in number, a man exchanging labor with no more than two others as a general rule, but sufficient to carry out the

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of wealth, namely, the land made available to his son. If the groom's father's brother, for example, should object strenuously to the marriage, he might be ridiculed for wanting the girl himself. Nor does the chief's opinion of the match necessarily carry much weight anymore, since his control over reservation land has diminished during the last generation or so.

Before setting themselves up in their own house, it is customary for the bride and groom to live in the latter's father's house. The period of residence varies, depending on several conditions. For one thing, a house has to be built for the young couple. In some cases this is done before the marriage, but in many cases only the commitment for its construction may be arranged for then. The *rukan*, or house-building ceremony, is costly and may not be feasible too soon after the expense of the wedding has been met. Furthermore, the land on which the new house will be built might be under cultivation, and it is customary to wait until the crops have been harvested before the new household is established. If the young couple is awaiting the delivery of the promised part of the girl's dowry, there might be a further delay in setting up the new household. Then, too, it is sometimes necessary for the couple to wait until the young man has actually reaped a harvest from his fields before moving into their own house. Sometimes the young couple remains with the man's parents until the birth of their first child. They may remain in the husband's father's house for a number of years. It seems, however, that young newlyweds prefer to live by themselves nowadays, even though there may continue to be a close working relationship between a man and his father's household -- indeed, the young man usually continues in a closely dependent relationship to his father at least for the first few years of marriage and often until the old man's death.

The above generalized account of marriage negotiations, even including some of the interpretations, is close to a composite picture of informants' descriptions. The wedding ceremonies I observed showed some variation in ritual content, as well as differences in the amount of bride-price, the range of relatives present and their importance in the ceremony, the number of times *dillawkawgwag* occurred, and the presence or absence of *mafutun*. These are variations within the pattern. It may be said that *tukulkawgwag* takes place more often in the initial stages of marriage negotiations that have not been precipitated by elopement; and that haggling is more in evidence when contributions are made by many members of both line-

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Mapuche

dictions of Guevara and Titiev what has actually happened to Mapuche society? Are not such predictions similar to those which, on whatever grounds, forecast the "end of the world?" Whether it dies from cooling or from fiery obliteration, the Mapuche world will disappear as it is presently known. Who can argue with this?

Meanwhile, the Mapuche go on as they have been for several generations, projecting the best image they can muster of traditional Mapuche society. They *delight* in speaking Araucanian, even on those rare occasions when it is not as easy for them as it *should* be; that is, even when they are more fluent in Spanish than in Araucanian. Ritual *has* to be spoken in Araucanian to be fully effective. Sacrificial offerings *should* be made in certain ways—meat, grain, and liquid offerings contained in traditional pottery or on traditional altars. Although wealthier Mapuche sometimes build Chilean-type houses alongside their ruka, family life goes on within the ruka and the frame house is used possibly as sleeping quarters or storage space, serving as a wealth-status symbol rather than as a comfortable domicile. Mapuche males have discarded ancestral dress such as the *chawal* and *chiripá*, but most of them believe that the Chilean *huaso* costume which they like to affect is fundamentally a Mapuche creation. Women, by and large, are reluctant to give up the *kelpan* (a woolen homespun wrap-around), the *ekul* (today a store-bought shawl), and various kinds of silver jewelry. Even highly acculturated women, who rarely wear fully traditional garb when at home (primarily because it is more expensive than a cotton dress), deck themselves out in complete Mapuche regalia when they attend ceremonials and fiestas, or when they make visits to town. These are surface phenomena which are symbolic of the reconstituted reservation society. They are symbolic of the kind of social integration discussed in the foregoing chapters.

Similar surface phenomena are the material cultural traits and agricultural techniques which reflect wealth or poverty among Mapuche and Chilean peasants alike. They are shared by two people whose social structures are vastly different. They symbolize certain changes in Mapuche economic organization, but these are as yet intrastructural changes indicating possible processual trends rather than culminations.

The final sentence of Titiev's monograph reads: "So, the Araucanians may yet retain some of their old ways of life for a few generations, but a time will inevitably come when their former usages will

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians 564

stripped of fruit, and it was necessary to proceed much further to the north to procure any; but an expedition to visit that district and to get fruit, planned by Orkeke, Hinchel, myself, and others, proved impracticable. Beyond the apple-groves the place was also pointed out where the arrowcanes grow, from which the pikeens are gathered, just below the snow-clad mountains we had viewed from the ridge above the Rio Limay, and about thirty miles distant.

In our valley the pasture was rather scanty, although there appeared to be sufficient for the three flocks of small sheep, each owned by one of Chocoque's wives, to get into good condition; but sheep will feed anywhere. Immediately behind the toldos was situated a corral for enclosing cattle, none of which, however, were visible, having, probably, been driven off to some secluded valley near at hand, to avoid giving our people a chance of helping themselves. Round this corral were grouped the Indians of Chocoque's tribe, and the Picunches with fruit, &c., to barter; and between the corral and the river lay the lowness of the Tehuelches; our freside being denoted by Casimiro's flag, the colours of the Argentine Confederation. Up and down the valley, and even about the neighbouring hills, were scattered our horses.

Proceeding to inspect the toldos, at which I had given but a cursory glance the night before, I found that they were all fixed dwellings; that is to say, not put together so as to be moved in marches, like those of the Patagonians. They were, indeed, constructed in the same manner, but the poles were much shorter, and the whole edifice more resembled a house.

Chocoque's toldo was quite sixteen feet high, and able to accommodate forty men; while there lay at huge billets of wood burned in the front part. It was closed in completely, except a doorway in the centre with a skin curtain by way of door; and along the front ran a species of verandah, composed of interwoven branches, forming a pleasant canopy, under the shade of which we sat and

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche
Araucanians SG4

smoked. Inside, the bed-places were raised on timber; and altogether, what with the sheep, corral, &c., the place had such an air of civilization about it that, with a small effort of imagination, one might have fancied oneself in a frontier estancia of the settlements. There were other toldos hidden amongst the trees on the northern side of the valley, but these I did not visit.

About eight o'clock several loaded horses came in sight, bringing the liquor which had been stowed away in the valley in which we had encamped the night after the disturbance. As soon as the jars and skins had been unloaded in Chocoque's toldo, an order was passed round for all arms to be given up, and after some little difficulty they were nearly all collected and stowed in a safe place. The chiefs were then formally invited to drink, and subsequently all comers were asked, the liquor being provided in a most liberal manner by Chocoque. This chief was fully conscious of his high position and power; his round, jolly face, the complexion of which, inherited from his Tehuelche mother, is darker than that of his subjects, exhibited a lurking cunning, and his frequent laughter was rather sardonic. He possessed a regally strong head, and was disposed to despise Casimiro for his inebriety; in fact, it was plain that he regarded himself, and not without reason, as superior to all the caciques, even though they were not subject to him.

Hinchel, myself, and many of the Araucanians had remained away; and I was proceeding to look up the horses, when I was called to the corral by some of the Pierenches. These men presented a cast of countenance decidedly differing from, and much inferior to, that of the Araucanians, from whom they were easily distinguished by their darker complexions; but they were very courteous, asking how I came to be with the Tehuelches, and what sort of a place my country was; and were pleased when I told them it was hilly and well wooded, and, referring to Devonshire, that apples abounded. Of course all our conversation was